

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 52.

March 15th, 1924.

WEEKLY.

THE REVOLUTION.

Hail to the Revolution,
It comes o'er the hills of night;
I stretch my hands to meet its warmth,
And it fills my soul with its light;
The workers from mine and factory
Are running to hail its light;
Gone for ever the rusty chains,
Gone for ever the night.

Hail to the Revolution,
Welcome to mine and loom;
Kings and rulers from shattered thrones
Are driven to their doom;
I hear the laughter of children,
And the joyous songs of the free,
I see the dance of victorious crowds
Where Tyranny used to be.

Hail to the Revolution!
The slaves at last are free;
I hear the tramp of a million feet
Marching to Victory;
The nocturnal beasts of Poverty
Flee in a dismal plight;
For the Dawns of Truth, in rhythmic waves,
Spread o'er the hills of night.

Hail to the Revolution!
The bloodthirsty host have fled;
Millions welcome the red, red dawn,
And they hail the banner red;
The crown, the throne and the sceptre
At last have lost their charm;
The day of the pick and the shovel has
dawned,—
The day of the mighty arm.

Hail to the Revolution!
With thundering guns it comes;
It speaks to the great in accents of lead,—
It speaks in the bursting bombs;
What if the blood of the tyrants
Tinge the fringe of the dawn?
The workers must fight the forces of night,
The workers must claim their own.

T. E. NICHOLAS.

TO WILLIAM MORRIS.

Dedicatory Sonnet to "The Sisters Three."
The mage of Naishapur in English tongue,
Beside the northern sea I, wondering, read,
With chant of breaking waves each verse was
said,

Till, storm-possessed, my heart in answer
sung:

And to the winds my ship of thought I flung,
And drifted wide upon the ocean dread
Of Space and Time, ere thought and life were
bred,

Till Hope did cast the anchor and I clung.
The book of Omar saw I limned in gold,
And decked with vine and rose and pictured
pause,

Enwrought by hands of one well skilled and
bold

In art and poesy and Freedom's cause—
Hope of humanity and equal laws—
To him and to this hope be mine enscrolled.

WALTER CRANE.

ANOTHER GESTURE.

By David Lowe.

(Author of "From Pit to Parliament"; The Story of the Early Life of Keir Hardie.)

I have only seen Sylvia Pankhurst twice. On the first occasion she and her sister, Christabel, were along with their parents, who were delegates to an Eastern conference in Nottingham. The two little girls were at that bright stage which held no reflection of strenuous years to come. The motherliness, the smooth brow, the rare smile of Mrs. Pankhurst did not immediately indicate her essentially strong character and supple mind. Dr. Pankhurst I cannot forget. His charm of manner, his earnestness, his brilliant talk made me take to him at once. He had immense energy, ripe knowledge, and an inborn reverence for justice. In the truest and highest sense he was absolutely radical, divesting himself without demur of whatever intellectual garment he outgrew. After a life of progression he died early, a convinced Socialist, and I am confident that had he been destined to live a hundred years this wise constitutional lawyer would never entertain a semblance of reaction.

It was at Neville's Court in the temporary London abode of Keir Hardie that I again saw Sylvia Pankhurst. Why do I make these references? I will tell you.

Recently, after long years, I received a letter from her in which the *Dreadnought* was mentioned, and, as I live in a little known hamlet where no newsagent drives a trade, I had to own that I had not seen the paper. So in my reply, with the inevitable touch of reminiscence, I asked her to send me some copies of her paper. A letter and a roll of papers duly reached me by post. The bearer, looking at the envelope, said: "This letter has been opened." I examined the envelope and smiled sadly; then I untied the string which encircled the papers and found that the wrapper had been torn through. Again I smiled sadly, thinking how Government resembled the Almighty in its unchangeableness.

Reading the papers I came across this notice: "If your correspondence is being spied upon, do not be offended, fellow-worker. It is done on high authority. The Post Office does not open all, or some of your letters, without a warrant from the Home Secretary." The issue was dated May 19th, 1923. "Ah! but is this not February, 1924, and a Labour Government in office? Surely such espionage cannot be." Thus I communed with my rural self, and remembering that the Socialist Home Secretary is Arthur Henderson, I smoked a consolatory pipe of strong and dear tobacco, leaving my correspondence in his care.

I do not propose in this article to discuss ideal society, chiefly because the mood is not here. On the other hand, it seems opportune to titillate the memory of a Cabinet Minister here and there.

Among the galaxy of Fabian intellectuals, the present Lord Oliver, Secretary for India, shone with no mean lustre. Perhaps he will recall a lecture which he delivered seventeen years ago this month in which he said, *inter alia*:

"When it is asked by a critic to whom the present economic dispensation is real and rational how we shall get the higher and more responsible forms of directing and organising work done in a Socialist Society, it is often answered, 'by paying a valuable man a high salary.' This answer is really quite inconclusive, and be-

longs to that period of economic criticism which took as its foundation the hypothesis that all values are exchange values." Sydney then plunged into a historical analysis of economic categories and emerged with this declaration:—

"This history should warn the Fabian Society not to retain in its Basis such archaisms as the promise that Socialism will add Rent and Interest to the reward of Labour. Rent and Interest not arising at all where property is collectively or communally owned. . . . No one is much influenced now by the old economics and it is time to take a new departure. This must rest on a frank acceptance of the Communist formula, 'From everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his needs,' as the basis of distribution of work and product in this humanised State; and instead of attempting to interest the middle class salaried man by a promise merely addressed to his pocket, we must rely on the motive that has always been strongest in free societies—namely, that of public service and self-expression in congenial employment."

Then Oliver concluded with this exhortation:—

"It is time that the Fabian Society recognised more clearly the importance of developing this understanding of Socialism and concerned itself less about providing the machinery for the development of forces inspired by the personal economic motive."

Dr. Haden Guest, M.P., another Fabian of the brainier sort, announced in December, 1906, that he was one of those who intended to bring Socialism to pass within the next twenty years. He has still about three years to spare. In October, 1905, he had already said:—

"We must answer scientific and Nietzschean criticism and devise a scheme of social reconstruction that shall give us the economy of management of the Standard Oil Trust with the democracy of the Folk-Moot. . . . What drew men together in societies in primitive times were their social instincts, their instincts of 'mutual aid.' Any development of laws and customs or habits of life that renders the practice of the 'mutual aid' instincts difficult is in so far a degeneration. Any movement for increased knowledge or increased life which either does not interfere with these instincts or gives them greater scope is progressive."

Further on in a very attractive lecture, Dr. Haden Guest added:—

"Socialists must fight against every influence that cuts up society into atomic units, and particularly endeavour to destroy the picture of the upper class world which, like a mirage, maddens those who gaze on it. As Socialism is more and more applied, and the states become more and more real communities, the formal ballot-box election will be more and more replaced by spontaneous personal choice of the most capable."

Concluding on an apostolic note, Dr. Guest said:—

"What is wanted is a change of heart. We must realise that the creative powers of gods or devils are within us; we must say, 'Let there be Socialism.' The power of religions has lain in their appeal to man as a partaker of cosmic life. So will Socialism turn into its own channel the flood of revival enthusiasm that exalts men, renders them joyful, and opens their hearts to fellowship. If we can make men see the vision of the world as it is, and not through the spectacles of every day, they will turn upon the grotesque dream we call civilisation and, with the knowledge of Socialism, utterly recreate it."

When "Individualism and Collectivism," by Dr. C. W. Saleeby, was published it was reviewed by Dr. Guest, and in the course of the review he said:—

"That Socialism is the way out of the morass of uniformity, that it will help with all its power the growth of all kinds of individualities, is our aspect of the matter we ought to press home."

I have not elected to animadvert on Oliver and Guest deliberately; they arrived naturally on the moment, and it can be said that if the substance of the above excerpts is still their driving force and attitude of mind much will be expected from them.

Now that Labour is in office there is an increased interest in politics, a growing expectation of good things from Westminster. This reliance on the political machine is shared by many workers who are not Socialists and therein lies danger and difficulty. Should the fierce needs and tragic embarrassments that now exist be allowed to continue unmollified, there will be a reaction against Parliament. The living conditions of the people are so hard and hopeless that they cannot long prevail without redress, and in the end to whom can they turn but to themselves?

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

The Story of a Great Schoolmaster, being a plain account of the life and ideas of Sanderson of Oundle, by H. G. Wells. (Chatto and Windus.)

This book is interesting, and much of it is inspiring; but when one begins it one wishes that it were what it calls itself, "a plain account." One feels it is rather too much Mr. Wells not at his best than an account of Sanderson and his life. The book, however, improves as it proceeds, and one gets more of Sanderson.

There is so much to admire in the teaching of Sanderson that one reads with regret his enthusiasm for the war; his mistaken belief that it would be a creative force. Was he enlightened, we wonder, by the cruel strokes of fate by which both his eldest son Roy, whom he hoped would be his successor in teaching, and a favourite pupil, Eric Yarrow, who was to have carried out his work in education, were killed in the war. According to Mr. Wells his faith that the war was all for the best was unshaken. He quotes a sermon by Sanderson, preached the Whitsunday after his boy was killed, in which Sanderson said:

"So we may hope that new theories of life which for a century have been growing towards birth will spring forth out of this great contest in all the lands of the earth."

Evidently Sanderson was one of those who could not bear to face the truth about the war, who were anxious to believe that society was being regenerated, and blinded themselves to the true facts. He said in the same sermon:

"There is a great pressing need of revolution in the laws and relationships of the social life."

In many directions he was far from realising how deep and fundamental the revolution must be, but in others he had a clearer realisation than many who understand better than he the politico-economic system in which we are enmeshed. We shall quote some of the passages from his speeches and writings cited by Mr. Wells, which give the gist of Sanderson's

views on the life that is to be. His attempts to apply to the reconstruction of society the methods he had adopted for many years at Oundle School began during the war. Doubtless this was partly due to the fact that his work at Oundle had now achieved much success, and thus gave him confidence to advocate an extension of his methods, but doubtless also Mr. Wells is right in saying: "Life had become intolerable for him unless he could interpret all its present disorders as the wreckage and confusion of the house-breakers preparing the site for a far nobler and better building."

One of the main aims of a good school is to see that each boy and girl is cared for, that each one has every opportunity for development. We must not cast out, or send our weak ones away, we must keep them in school—we must find out what kind of work will appeal to them, so that they, too, may move upwards, gain in self-respect, and love their life. And we claim that this is what we would have done in all factories, or in every occupation.

"The object of this paper is to describe in practical working terms an organisation of schools which shall be based on a close association with the manifold needs and labours of the community life. At the outset I may say that the proposals will refer—even if not specifically so stated—to all types of schools, from the Elementary to the Public Schools. It will be seen that the change needs a change in the ideals which have usually prevailed in schools of the past. In the community life the one urgent thing to be done to-day is to reorganise industry and the conditions of labour. This reorganisation may require quite organic or even anarchic changes—and for these changes the ideals of boys and girls must be changed, and to prepare for this change the ideals of boys and girls must be changed, and to prepare for this change is the urgent work of the schools.

"Before I come to the proposals for reconstruction of schools, I will state very briefly some facts in industry which are now meeting with acceptance.

1. Modern industrial life has come in with a tumultuous rush, in a haphazard, ungoverned way, through the activities of forceful, capable, and industrious leaders who have made use of the scientific discoveries of another type of men.

2. The shrinkage of the world, and the growth of population which followed, has led to fierce competition; and this spirit of competition has ruled everywhere.

3. In the ungoverned rush for production all sorts of methods are adopted which seem to be justified by their effectiveness. An example is the modern system of efficiency, at first sight captivating to the intellect and the desires, but yet a method which needs very careful study.

4. Now men are beginning to believe that the first product of industry must be for the worker; that the worker should grow physically, intellectually, spiritually by his work.

"The principle that the first product of industry must be the worker leads to great organic changes. It will lead to no less a thing than closing down certain productions, certain classes of occupations, certain industries or processes. It will lead to a modification in repetition work; and to adjustments in organisation. I hope to show the bearing of this on our educational methods, and how the ideals implied may bring some help in diagnosing Labour unrest.

"It will be seen that most of the changes needed to-day depend upon international agreements; and a League of Nations is essential, not, I think, to end wars, but to make the change from competition to co-operation possible.

"We are concerned to-day with the part education must take in this change of ideals of life. It is not too much to say that without

the influence of a reconstructed education the way to change in the ideals of men will be hard to find. The change has to be made from competitive methods and ideals to co-operative methods; from the spirit of dominance to creativeness; and the present system of aristocracy in schools must give way to democratisation.

"Competition holds sway to-day in industrial life with disastrous results. Every employer of labour feels this, and wrestles, and would be glad of a change, but he is held in the grip of a system. Everyone feels that competition destroys the creative, inventive life—and is the seat of unrest. And yet the spirit of competition holds sway, not in commerce only, nor in diplomacy, but in the schools. Our public schools are professedly schools for training a dominant class; the aims, the educational methods, the school subjects and their relative values, the books read, the life led—are all based on this spirit. The methods are largely competitive, possessive, with, as I believe, tragic results. In industrial life this same system, with the ideals behind it, has been unwittingly impressed on the working-class in the elementary schools.

"The change which I am advocating will demand a new organisation, and will call for a new type of school buildings, and new values of subjects. The new-come science, and with it organised industry, which springs out of it, must take a prominent and inspiring place in school, and in every part of school work. It is not sufficient to say that science should be taught in schools. The time has gone by for this. We claim that scientific thought should be the inspiring thought in school life. Science is essentially creative and co-operative, its outlook is onward towards change, it means searching for the truth, it demands research and experiment, and does not rest on authority. Under this new spirit all history, literature, art, and even languages should be re-written.

"A new type of school buildings and requirements will arise. No longer buildings comprised only of class-rooms, but large and spacious work-rooms. Class-rooms are places where boys go to be taught. They are tool-sharpening rooms—necessary, but subsidiary. For research and co-operative creative work the larger halls are needed. Spacious engineering and wood-working shops, well supplied with all kinds of machine tools, a smithy, a foundry, a carpenter's shop, a drawing office—all carried on for manufacturing purposes. Plenty of work which will employ boys of all ages will be found to do.

"There will be a corresponding spacious library and historical workshop with a really spacious library full of books: books on modern subjects, as well as reference books. The building should have in it wings for foreign books—modern as well as classic, history, economics, literary, scientific. As many as possible of the foreign languages should be represented here, that boys may grow up with knowledge and sympathy and respect for other nations, and thus aid in promoting wider and deeper ideals of life. Another gallery for geography, and natural history, travel, ethnology.

"Here is full scope for a large number of boys of all ages to be engaged in research. It is all of a co-operative character. They can study the various social and economic systems—from co-partnership to syndicalism; or the Liberation of Slaves; or the League of Nations; or the Liberation of Italy.

"Another block will be a science block with an engineering laboratory, machinery hall, physical, chemical, and biological laboratories—well supplied with apparatus and plant for applied science; plant, too, to lead to the investigations of the day; testing machine, ship tank, air tunnel; a miniature standardising laboratory; and with this a botanical garden and an experimental farm.

"Another would be an art room, music room, theatre, a home of industry for studying industrial development and industrial life.

"This is not a Utopian scheme, but one within possibility in town and country. To each large central high school should be associated groups of elementary schools, and there should be free highways between them, neither barred by examinations nor barred by expense. . . .

"Another change must also come. Books on modern problems, strangely enough, are not yet read in schools. For example, the time is overdue for a change in the English books: Burke's *Reflections* and Pitt's *War Speeches*, or Addison, to Ruskin's *Unto this Last* and *Time and Tide*, or to Bernard Shaw, Wells, Galsworthy, and the modern poets. Some would go so far as to give Shakespeare a rest. It is astonishing how the newer books bearing on the large questions of the day, and bearing on the actual life of the boy, strike the imagination of boys—even quite young boys of the upper elementary school age. They stir up the faculties and appeal to a less used kind of imagination. It is surprising, too, what open and live views young boys will reach. And one thing the study of these books possesses, which I hope to dwell upon later, is that they bring the schools into close touch with the everyday life of their homes and of the community. . . .

"The divorce of industrial life from the life of the spirit is one of the tragedies of the age. It produces calamitous results. A man's work may be of an impossible kind, it may be sordid and destructive of life—and the cure proposed is that he should have shorter hours and more pay. This leads to bad diagnosis of the cause of the Labour difficulty, and prevents necessary reforms in the industries. . . .

"Creativeness, the co-operative spirit and method, the vision, the experimental method of searching for the truth, form the unique gift science and industry have to give to the new education. . . .

"The study of social questions is seriously needed. Industries would then have a close connection with the boys and girls, and yet boys and girls would be free to follow the best of their own talents and inclinations—the industrial life would not be separated from the spiritual life; and we hope that some part of this ideal would pass over into the workshops and factories; so that the labourer would learn to love his work better than his wage—for so indeed he would wish to do. And the faculties of the worker would grow. The method of the work would follow the method of the school. . . .

"And here we come to what is probably the natural source of all labour 'unrest'—the unstretched faculties of the worker. Men there are in any great shops who have intellectual faculties of the highest order, and these faculties are not used, so the greatest possession a man has—the 'faculties,' of its owners—is allowed to dissipate. . . .

"Such legislation (Factory Acts, Insurance Acts, wages, hours) does not remove the source of the disease; at best it only mitigates the worst results. More drastic changes may be needed in the nature of the work—to the ruling out certain manufacturing processes until new discoveries can be made. . . .

"So with the work in the shops. Men do not want wages, or shorter hours; these demands are only symptoms of a disease; short cuts to amelioration. They are doctoring. What men want is that their work may be such that they can love it, and want more of it. They do not want slaves' work in the shops and a 'dose' of the spiritual life out of it. So we believe. . . .

"Parents, too, would let their children remain at school. As a class there is no one more unselfish and self-sacrificing and co-operative than the working-class parent. Boys want to leave school because of the natural urge for making something and getting to business—as they see it at home. To remain at school without joining in some work is unthinkable when they see the life their parents lead. . . .

"I may be permitted to insert one paragraph on the unfortunate opposition to this new position which is claimed for science in the schools. The opposition springs from the belief that vocational work is simply material, having no spiritual outlook. But the truth is all the other way. Unfortunately the present studies of history, art, economy, literature, are biased by 'possessive' instincts and education, and we claim that science and its methods are seriously demanded for a new reading of these things. However, the opposition finds expression in high quarters. The Workers' Educational Union, acting in sympathy with the Labour view—that vocational studies are to be avoided—practically taboos technical studies. This is reasonable as things are today, when a man's work is too often for the profit of others, and for this reason the workers are not in love with their work, and when the day is over they have seen plenty of it; so the best of them go elsewhere for the springs of the spiritual life. But this is all disastrous to individuals and disastrous to progress. . . .

"Schools should be miniature copies of the work we should love to have. . . .

"Here are three conditions which must be kept in the shops:—

"(a) The work boys are doing should not be for themselves, or exercises to learn by; it must always be work required by the community.

"(b) Each boy must have the opportunity of doing all the main operations, and all the operations should be going on in the workshops.

"(c) Whenever a boy goes into the shop he should find himself set to work which is up to the hilt of his capacity. There is no 'slithering' down to work which is easy, no unnecessary and automatic repetition, no working for himself, but for the community.

"And we can say and are entitled to say to the boy: When you go forth into life, perhaps into your father's work or business or profession, you must try to do for your apprentices and workers what we have tried to do for you. You, too, will try to see that everyone has work which exerts their faculties—by which they will grow and develop; you will see that they are working directly on behalf of and for the welfare of the community, and not for yourself. . . .

"This is your real duty towards your neighbour. It is a vastly hard thing to do. This duty of believing that others are of the same blood with yourself, and have the same feelings, and loves, and desires and needs, and natural elementary rights; this duty of setting them free to exercise their faculties spaciouly that they, too, may get more of life—is the real duty towards your neighbour. It is a hard thing. If you think of the works, the factory, the office, it is a hard thing. It involves vast sacrifice of belief and economic tradition. . . .

"The system of education in the past has been based on training for leadership, i.e., for a master class, and its method has been a training of the faculties. But the sharply defined line between the leader and the led has broken down. The whole mass of the people has been aroused towards intellectual creative efforts. The struggle going on in all communities and amongst all races is a struggle to grow and have more of life. Whether at home amongst our workers, or in India, or Egypt, or Ireland; or between China and Europe—the struggle is the same. It is a struggle to make progress and have more of life. This urge to grow is a biological fact. We cannot tell why it is or what creates it—but everything around us has this urge to grow, and to grow in its own particular way. One seed grows into a tulip, another into wheat. We know not how, but we recognise it. And it is precisely the same urge to grow that is causing all this apparent conflict. It is

the fundamental creative instinct—the most powerful instinct of the human race, by which the race is preserved. Deep down in human nature lies this instinct; it is never forgotten, it is always present in the mind. It is voluptuous, anarchic, joyful, violent, powerful. . . .

"The other instinct is called the fighting, aggressive, acquisitive, possessive instinct. It is the instinct to acquire, to overcome. It is distinct from the creative instinct even in the biological growth, but the distinction manifests itself more clearly in the community or herd relationships. It has none of the beautiful and life-giving qualities of the creative urge. It is essentially, even in its romance (of which we have plenty), dull, selfish, destructive. It varies its forms from sheer animal force to the dialectical methods which have assumed the names of talent and culture. The same characteristics are seen in the force of the slave driver, in the forces of the wage-earners, and in the dialectical force of the council. These are hard sayings, but for the solution of the problems of the present times it is wise, and necessary, to look facts in the face. At any rate it is well to know of the possibilities, feelings, and loves of the up-rising mass. . . .

"But what has this to do with schools? My answer is that if we are to deal with the problems thrown up by science in our industrial system, and our close national and international contacts, the schools must be the seed grounds of the new thought and visions. . . .

The method which makes learning easy is waste of time. What boy will succumb to the entreaty: "Come, I will make you clever; it will be so easy for you; you will be able to learn it without an effort?" What they succumb to is service for the community. I have tested that in the workshops. They don't want to make things for themselves; they soon cease to have any longing desire to make anything even for their mothers. What they love to do is to take part in some great work that must be done for the community; some work that goes on beyond them, some great spacious work. . . .

"Schools must be equipped spaciouly, spaciouly, and they must have a spacious staff. I have the list of our staff here. We have masters for mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, biology, zoology, anthropology, botany, geology, architecture, classics, history, literature, geography, archaeology, economics, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Eastern languages, art, applied art, handicrafts and music. . . .

"Impossible," some people say. There is no great school in the land but could quite well afford it. . . .

SPICE.

Full Dress.

"Premier in blue and gold; other Ministers in black." . . .

Keir Hardie's cap. . . .

Other men, other manners. . . .

"All these things will I give thee if thou wilt but fall down and worship me." . . .

Sacred Rites.

The crypt in the Royal Palace of Westminster has contained an altar and been known as the Chapel of St. Mary in the Vault. It has also been used as the State dining-room of the Speaker. . . .

"Unless there is a more abundant life before mankind this scheme of space and time is a bad joke beyond our understanding, a flare of vulgarity, an empty laugh, braying across the vulgarities."—H. G. Wells.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

Workers' Dreadnought

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Our View.

Labour Imperialists.

The Labour Government took office without a majority, ostensibly to do three things: to cure unemployment, to provide houses for the working-class, and to secure peace in Europe. We never believed that the Labour Party could achieve these things. We were fully aware that the causes which lay beneath the existence of these evils are too deeply embedded in the existing system, and the world conditions of capitalism to be eradicated by any tinkering half-measures.

Yet it is a surprise to find how little, even of show, it is thought necessary to make towards the achievement of the promised benefits. Under the existing system the intentions of a Government are to be judged primarily by its Budget, for it is by its expenditure that its will is mainly implemented.

The Budget of the Labour Government is not, as we write, disclosed, but the estimates are out, and they make known the main lines of the Government expenditure. By them one may tell what are the intentions of the Government as to unemployment, as to housing, as to disarmament, as to education, and all the main services with which the Government has to deal.

The estimates reveal, beyond the possibility of denial, that the Government intends no great housing effort, no great work to relieve unemployment, and that it has gone forward in the race of Air Force armaments now to be the main concern of all the militarists, all the imperialists.

Housing Schemes Decrease.

Government expenditure on housing schemes in the coming financial year, instead of showing the promised expansion, are to suffer a decrease in expenditure of £93,540. No one, not even a Labour Government, can build more houses by capitalist measures and at the same time spend less money.

Unemployment.

Unemployment grants are to total £8,450,000, as compared with £8,500,000 last year. The increased allocations for export credits are of very minor importance in regard to unemployment. Apart from their indirectness and relative smallness, as compared with the great volume of general trade, these credits are so little taken advantage of by those mighty ones to whom the Government is willing to grant them, that the Government is asking for propaganda to popularise them. The gap is the only tangible improvement that the unemployed may look for.

Education.

Education in England and Wales, in spite of the encouraging circulars dispatched by Mr. Buxton, is to suffer a decrease of £34,047,

whilst Scottish education is to lose by £149,500. Universities and colleges get an increase of £73,770. It is astonishing that the Labour Government should make itself responsible, whilst it increases the grant to those who are relatively fortunate, for cutting down expenditure on the education of the masses. Increased grants to the British Museum, to scientific and industrial research and investigation, should be welcomed, but these are relatively very small expenditures. Education itself gets only £41,900,000, very little as compared with the £114,000,000 of the fighting services. That, of course, is an old-standing disproportion.

There is to be an increase of £90,000 for old age pensions, but a decrease in war pensions expenditure of £6,607,436. The Ministry of Health is to get £17,950 less than last year. The Ministry of Labour must spend less by £1,116,600.

Agriculture.

The Ministry of Agriculture is to lose £2,704,323, but Scottish agriculture gets an increase, together with war graves, which are part of the propaganda of militarism, and there is an increase of £13,278 for the Ministry of Transport.

Civil versus Military.

Altogether the Civil Services suffer a reduction of £37,177,318. Expenditure on the fighting forces, on the other hand, is reduced by £5,000,000 only.

Air Force Increase.

The only great increase in the estimates is an increase of £2,000,000 for the Air Force. There lies the keystone of Labour Government policy—Imperialism.

"A British Policy" Mr. MacDonald promised, but people voted for him as a pacifist. So he goes to Court in blue and gold livery and the masses cheer for a Labour Government. Alas, poor patient ones!

"By Jingo If We Do."

Lords Haldane and Thomson, representing the Labour Government in the House of Lords, insisted that the Labour Government is carrying out the Air Force scheme precisely as it was formulated by its predecessor. Lord Londonderry moved a resolution indicating that the British Air Force must be equal to that of France, "the strongest air force within striking distance of our shores." The Labour lords replied that the Labour Government had no objection to the substance of the resolution, but did not relish its form. Lord Haldane had always had a sympathy with the substance of the song, "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do," but he did not like it sung in the streets. Lord Thomson said the lords need not blight the flower of idealism provided it had its roots in the soil. The Government would make the strategy of Lord Londonderry go with the policy of the Labour Party. The Labour Government would continue the scheme of air expansion, but, said he, "we are being watched. People expect something of us." The remark was illuminating.

Lord Londonderry quoted a speech of Mr. Leach, the Under Secretary for Air, opposing the grant of the freedom of the City of Bradford to Earl Haig, on the ground that his duty had been "to kill, lay waste, burn, destroy, and make widows and orphans." How could this man conscientiously assist in Air Force administration, asked Lord Londonderry? How, indeed, we also are compelled to inquire. Lord Thomson, on the other hand, wrote in the "Nation" just before he was made Air Minister, advocating Air Force expansion, asking how he could meet force by force, if he had only 100 aeroplanes to pit against 1,000, and what was the use of rattling the sword in the scabbard if he could not draw it forth.

Lord Thomson, like Mr. MacDonald, is a great friend of France just now; but the building of war material continues.

"Security" for France.

The French Yellow Book dealing with the Anglo-French negotiations has an interesting bearing on the MacDonald-Poincaré letters. The Yellow Book, of course, shows that France wanted the frontier of Germany pushed west of the Rhine. France further demanded a military pact of 30 years between Britain and France. The French desired that there should be constant communication between the military staffs of France and Britain, and that there should be consultation between the two Governments if the peace of the world were threatened in any way. Britain was to support France should Germany do anything incompatible with the Treaty of Versailles.

Lloyd George was only willing to pledge military support in case of a direct and unprovoked attack by Germany on France and to make the pact for 10 years. The French Government maintains its original stand. Mr. MacDonald's letter seems to indicate he would accept the French view—on terms. So much for the U.D.C. attack on sectional alliances. So much for the vaunted faith in the League of Nations.

The Dole and the Circular.

The Government circular on uncovenanted benefit indicates a somewhat less mean treatment of the people who are not compelled to live on the dole alone, and have something else to fall back upon, but the insistence that such benefit shall be refused to persons whose records are supposed to show they are "not proper subjects" for it, is Pecksniffian, and will doubtless cause many committees to refuse the dole to many unfortunate people. The grant of uncovenanted benefit to single men and women over 25 recently refused, and now restored, will assist many unfortunates to exist. The grant of uncovenanted benefit to aliens, who have paid their insurance contributions like natives, remember, removes one of the many special cruelties perpetrated by nationalism upon foreigners. Such cruelties have been multiplied in all countries since the war.

Baldwin's Prophecies.

Mr. Baldwin told the House of Commons the other day that he believed unemployment will no longer be epidemic, but endemic. He did not know when trade revives in Europe whether this country would be able to maintain its relative position in the world. He declared that Germany, and every country that pays its debts, must send out a flood of exports in order to succeed in that object. If the millennium were to be reached when every country had paid its debts he thought we should "all live by taking in each other's washing." Arguing that the high taxation in this country makes it difficult to secure export markets, Mr. Baldwin further pointed out that in the trades where no foreign imports compete, in those which he called sheltered trades, wages are higher than in those exposed to foreign competition. Thus, since 1914, the wages of the building trades have risen 90 per cent. to 114 per cent., dockers 85 per cent., railwaymen 100 per cent. to 150 per cent., unskilled labourers employed by local authorities 90 per cent. These are what he described as sheltered trades. On the other hand, wages of engineers have only risen 42 to 45 per cent., shipbuilders 18 to 26 per cent., agricultural labourers 56 per cent., cotton operatives 61 per cent., pottery workers 30 per cent., tinplate workers 39 per cent.

As to the price of goods, those imported into this country cost 53 per cent. more than in 1913, but those exported are 89 per cent. above the pre-war cost.

The iron and steel industry of this country is selling its products twelve points below the relative average price of general commodities and actually 32 points below the relative price of coal. That indicates that the technique of iron and steel production has improved, the wages are lower, and the prices are smaller. Yet steel manufactured outside

this country is sold at more than £2 per ton less than the cost of production here, and pig iron at 15s. a ton below. There is 23½ per cent. of unemployment in the iron and steel industry. The fall in the franc means that there will now be still more overwhelming competition from France and Belgium.

Mr. Baldwin, who is, as our readers will remember, an ironmaster, confessed himself puzzled as to the solution of these immense problems. The Tory finds it easy to cry Tariff Reform when it is a question of the competition of foreign imports, but when the difficulty is that one cannot sell one's goods in other people's countries because one's prices are too high, the Tariff Reformer has to admit that his favourite specific is of no avail in this case. The only alternative, which either Liberals or Tories can suggest, is to cut down wages, but when wages are down to subsistence level that alternative also fails. A State subsidy might be suggested by some, as in the case of wheat in wartime, but what an enormous bounty would be required, for when the great maw of the iron and steel industry had been filled, the shipbuilding industry, the engineering industry, the cotton industry and others would all come up with similar demands. Reduced taxation is talked of, but what a reduction would be needed to wipe out an excess price of £2 per ton of steel and all the other excess prices in all sorts of commodities, growing daily in amount! Moreover, even were it possible thus to reduce prices to the Continental, taxation would thereby be vastly decreased. What, then, would become of the increased armaments, especially in the air, which Tory, Liberal and Labour all regard as a necessity, of the national existence.

Some means of stabilising the world's currencies is the solution that many people propose, but as to what means and how to enforce its application they speak less confidently.

Mr. Baldwin asked the Labour Party for its solution. He quoted Mr. Henderson:—

"There is only one way of tackling it—the introduction of a new industrial order based upon public ownership and democratic control of the primary sources of wealth."

Mr. Baldwin declared that he did not know what those words meant, and challenged Mr. Henderson to explain, but the victor of Burnley was silent.

Mr. Henderson was, of course, advocating State capitalism in that passage; but State capitalism would not deal with the difficulty in question. State capitalism, with compensation for the capitalist, would by no means secure reduced costs of production. It would by no means reopen the foreign markets.

The only solution is to break away from the old system altogether—to produce for use and not for profit.

THE TYKE AND T' "MORNIN' POOAST."

"Did yer see that int' 'Mornin' Pooast' 'abart voates for wimmen when the've gotten ter twenty-one? Tha' didn't! Well, did yer 'ear abart it? Naw! It's time tha tuk a bit o' notice then."

"Aye, the' sed it wor too young, un' it owt ter be twenty-five a'stead o' twenty-one. It's a queer way o' reasonin' ter me. Fowks a' supposid ter 'ev enough sense ter get merried when the' nobbut sixteen, accordin' to t' law, but t' "Mornin' Pooast" reckons lasses ev'nt enough sense ter use a voate when the'r five years owder ner that. Not that Ah want ter say fowks should be merried when the'r sixteen; now't ut soart!"

"But what struck me t' moast wor when the' went on ter say t' same things abart lads o' twenty-one. Lads, mind yer! The' sed that lads o' that age knew nowt abart public affairs un' politics. By gum! the' should 'ear my lad, un' 'e's nobbut sixteen. 'E knows summat abart it Ah can tell yer. Fancy! the've t' cheek ter say the' doant know which side the'r bread's buttered when

the've got ter shave ivery other day. Ah'me not much on a scholar missen, but Ah knew 'ar ter use my voate when Ah wor twenty-one; cos Ah'me voatin' t' same nar as Ah sud a' done then."

"Lads o' twenty-one, the' say. That's what sticks i' my gizzard. Lads! It's nobbut a year a' two sin' the' wor men ut eighteen. Course, the's a bit o' difference: the' only wanted 'em ter feight then."

E. D.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' REVOLUTION.

By Herman Gorter.

V.

Asia.

In many parts of the world conditions are similar, or begin to be similar, to those in Russia. In British and Dutch India and in China there are enormous numbers of small peasants who are oppressed by native and foreign Powers. The population of those countries now numbers seven or eight hundred millions of people, for the most part small peasants. The ferment against the misrule of the native and foreign Governments is growing—the revolution approaches. Moreover, there is a proletariat which is growing rapidly, both in numbers and class consciousness. It is not impossible that the proletariat might secure the leadership of a revolution, or share it with other classes. Yet, as the proletariat in the big modern capitalist industries is still weaker than in Russia, the revolution in those countries would produce, still more surely than in Russia, a nationalist capitalist State. The same thing would happen in Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Afghanistan, where, except in a few of the seaports, there are few or no modern proletarians.

If Russia, with its heroic, conscious proletariat, must introduce capitalism, it is still more sure that when the nations of Asia start their revolution huge capitalist States will grow up there as the enemies of the world proletariat. Russia makes itself a capitalist-nationalist State and a competitor of Western Europe, whilst North America promotes the capitalist development of Asia.

The capitalist development of the East has been enormously accelerated by the world war and the Russian revolution. Awakening Asia is the new enemy of the world proletariat revolution.

The Third International.

The accomplishment of the Russian revolution was so mighty that the vanguard of the workers of Western Europe were impressed by it and obeyed the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, and the whole of the Third International followed Russia. Just as in Russia, what the Third International called upon the European workmen to do was partly proletarian-communist, partly bourgeois-capitalist. Although their countries were for the most part proletarian, the European workers followed in adopting mixed tactics—partly proletarian, partly bourgeois.

The calls of Russia and the Third International to civil war and the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and a Red Army were proletarian-communist, but it did not dare all and proceed to the really fundamental measures of the proletarian revolution in Europe, and, in the first place in Germany. They did not claim as the basis of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils the destruction of the trade unions. A clear-cut proletarian revolution would at once create workshop councils instead of trade unions. The workshop councils alone can fight and are the essential bed-rock of communism. By making peace with trade unionism the Russian Bolsheviks and the Third International showed that they

were themselves still capitalist, and neither wished, nor dared, to smash up European capitalism.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks and the Third International did not call for the abolition of Parliamentarism in the revolution. Thus they left the European workers, who had never yet fought for themselves, under the delusion that a revolution can be made in Parliament and through leaders. A real proletarian revolution must abolish Parliamentarism when the revolution comes in sight. Parliament is the weapon of the bourgeoisie, the workshop councils are the weapon of the proletariat, which it will use in addition to but against Parliament.

By not doing this, Russia, consciously or unconsciously, was working not for the world proletarian revolution, but towards Russian capitalism.

The Third International did not demand the abolition of party dictatorship in Western Europe. Nothing has shown their bourgeois character more than this. This slavish subjection to party was the pest and ruin of social democracy and of the proletariat, which was its slave. Before the world war the leaders of the proletarian parties led scarce conscious masses. In the revolution the workers as a class in their workshop councils must decide for themselves in the conflict between the mighty powers of West European and North American capitalism, mighty still in their death throes, and because it is a question of life and death to them, mightier in their efforts than ever. The trade unions and the old political parties of the workers are too weak to combat capitalism in this strife.

Only the workshop councils and the Communist Workers' Party can conquer capitalism. They must for this purpose both interlock and act as a whole and form a unity for the fight.*

In Russia this was not understood, and thus, as Rosa Luxemburg said, a dozen leaders dictate over a flock of sheep, which one calls to action when convenient, and, through this flock of sheep, over the vast masses of the unthinking class. This method is bourgeois capitalist, through and through. By this method, more than by any other, the Third International has led the proletarian revolution to defeat. The principle of the few dictating to the stupid mass has thrown the German proletariat into the abyss.

The real proletarian revolution, which is preparing in England, North America and Germany, cannot be made by a stupid mass led by a few wise leaders, only by the self-conscious self-acting mass. History insures that the mass shall be conscious and self-acting, for as long as it is not self-reliant, it will be beaten, notwithstanding its leaders.

To make it, the working class, self-reliant has been the function of Western capitalism, for it has become so powerful, even in its death throes, that the proletarians, both individually and in the mass, must outstrip the capitalist class in thought and action.

The stupid leaders of the Third International showed as much knowledge as a cat of the conditions of Western Europe, the difference between them and those of Russia, and the real driving force of capitalism in Western Europe. They became the tools of the Russian leaders, and the great masses of the Western European proletariat bowed to the Third International.

(To be continued.)

* Gorter's meaning here is not clear to us.

IMPORTANT.

You believe in the policy of the "Workers' Dreadnought," and there are many people who think like you who would like to have the paper, only they have not heard of it. Will you help us to bring it to their notice by sending us a donation towards advertising it? We need a minimum of 25s. a week for this.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Religious Procession at Jalto.

Seven hundred prisoners are detained, 21 Indians were killed, 33 wounded, no police or soldiers were injured. Nevertheless, Mr. Richards, on behalf of the Labour Government, says the Indians were "armed with all sorts of weapons, including firearms . . . guns, pistols . . . knives and spears."

Nationalisation of Banks.

Mr. Annesley Somerville (Con.) asked whether the Government would introduce legislation for the nationalisation of the banks.

Mr. MacDonald: "No, sir."

Industrial Disputes.

The Prime Minister: "The Government is keeping in closest touch with all industrial troubles. It does not propose to introduce legislation, nor to handle each one in the same way. It will use its judgment to secure the maximum possible consideration from both sides for national interests."

Imports of American Cotton.

United Kingdom.	
1919	1,619 million lbs.
1920	1,304 " "
1921	847 " "
1922	944 " "
1923	813 " "
Germany.	
1919	78 " "
1920	376 " "
1921	783 " "
1922	646 " "
1923	523 " "

Bombay Mill Strike.

One hundred and fifty thousand cotton mill strikers in Bombay on March 8th stoned the police. Two strikers were killed, three wounded, one arrested. Strikers set fire to cotton bales and stoned the police. The troops were called out.

Somebody Objects.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald agreed that British Government proposals on German reparations since the summer of 1922 should be published, but not those made in "informal and confidential discussions."

"Objection has been raised by the Belgian Government."

Oil and War.

Sir E. Iliffe wanted to know what the Government is doing to secure oil for this country in case of war.

The Prime Minister: "This question is kept under constant observation. It would not be in the public interest to give the particulars asked for."

Liquor Agreement.

Will the Labour Government introduce any new regulation regarding the organisation of liquor-running traffic in British waters, to minimise friction with the United States?

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who used to be so much concerned about this: "The answer is in the negative." Apparently he sees no way to improve on the Baldwin solution.

Unemployment.

Dr. Macnamara (Lib.) twitted the Labour Government with doing less for unemployment than was promised in the King's Speech of the Tory Government they defeated, and said that all its measures for dealing with the problem were those of the late Government. Mr. Baldwin made the same observation. Mr. Shaw replied that it was scarcely possible after six weeks of office to tell what the full policy of the Government eventually would be. In ship-building, 34 per cent. of the workers are unemployed, in marine engineering 22 per cent., shipping 21 per cent., engineering 18 per cent., iron and steel 17 per cent., transport 16 per cent., pottery 14 per cent., cotton 12 per cent.

When further pressed for the Labour Party's boasted solution to unemployment, Mr. Shaw replied: "Does anybody think that we can produce schemes like rabbits out of our hat?"

The Labour Government, of course, does not know what to do: it has no policy; its various factions have various policies.

9d. per Head.

The Labour Government is re-enacting the Tory Emergency Act of 1923 charging the cost of relief in London on the Metropolitan Poor Fund, kept the scale of 1s. 3d. per head per day for indoor and 9d. per day for outdoor relief. The cost of living is rising, yet the Labour Government dare not raise the scale above the Tory limit.

**FROM COUNT TO PEASANT.
LEO TOLSTOY.**

We separate ourselves from the poor by a barrier of customs and conventionalities, of masonic signs as it were, a knowledge of which is requisite to admittance to our society, and this barrier must be broken down before the poor could be effectually helped. I am living the wrong life, sunk in the mire up to the neck, and yet wish to aid others to get out. The upper classes by their idleness, their luxury, their useless occupations, force the working-class lower and lower, and make the gulf between them wider and wider. I am sitting on the back of a man whom I am crushing, I insist on his carrying me, and, without setting him free, I tell him I pity him a great deal, and that I have only one desire, that of improving his condition by all possible means, and yet I never get off his back. If I wish to help the poor, I must not be the cause of the poverty.

Whereas working men who have freed themselves from unremitting labour and become educated, and who have, therefore, it might be supposed the power of seeing through the fraud which is practised upon them, are subjected to such a coercion of threats, bribes, and all the hypnotic influences of Governments, that, almost without exception, they desert to the side of the Government, and by entering some well-paid and profitable employment, as priest, schoolmaster, or other official, become participators in spreading the deceit which is destroying their comrades. It is as though nets were laid at the entrance of education in which those who, by some means or other, escape from the masses bowed down by labour, are inevitably caught.—Leo Tolstoy's *Patriotism and Christianity*.

Tolstoy on War.

About four years ago the first swallow of this Toulon spring, a well-known French agitator for a war with Germany, came to Russia to prepare the way for the Franco-Russian Alliance, and paid a visit to us in the country. He came to us when we were all engaged cutting the hay crop, and when we had come into lunch and made our guest's acquaintance, he began at once to tell us how he had fought, been taken prisoner, made his escape, and finally pledged himself as a patriot, a fact of which he was evidently proud, never to cease agitating for a war with Germany, until the boundaries and glory of France had been re-established. All our guest's arguments as to the necessity of an alliance of France with Russia in order to reconstruct the former boundary, power and glory of his country, and to assure our security against the evil intentions of Germany, had no success in our circle. To his arguments that France could never settle down until she had recaptured her lost provinces, we replied that neither could Russia be at rest till she had been avenged for Jena, and that if the revanche of France should happen to be successful, Germany in her turn would desire revenge, and so on without end. To his arguments that it was the duty of France to recover the sons who had been snatched from her, we replied that the condition of the majority of the working population of Alsace Lorraine under the rule of Germany had probably suffered no change for the worse since the days when it was ruled by France, and the fact that some of the Alsations preferred to be registered as Frenchmen and not as Germans, and that he, our guest, wished to re-establish the fame of the French arms, was no reason to renew the awful calamities which a war would

cause, or even sacrifice a single human life. To his argument that it was very well for us to talk like that, who had never endured what France had, and that we would speak differently if the Baltic provinces or Poland were to be taken from us, we replied that the loss of the Baltic provinces or Poland could in no wise be considered as a calamity, but rather an advantage, as it would decrease the necessity of armed forces and State expenses. . . . Our guest merely shrugged his shoulders, and, with the amiability of a Frenchman, said he was very grateful for the cordial welcome he had experienced in our house, but was sorry that his views were not as well received. After this conversation we went out into the hay field, where our guest, hoping to find the peasants more in sympathy with his ideas, asked me to translate to an old, sickly peasant, Prokophy by name, who, though suffering from severe hernia, was still working energetically, mowing with us—his plans for putting pressure on Germany from both sides, the Russian and the French. The Frenchman explained this to him graphically, by pressing with his white fingers on either side of the mower's coarse shirt, which was damp with heat. I well remember Prokophy's good-humoured smile of astonishment when I explained the meaning of the Frenchman's words and action. He evidently took the proposal to squeeze the Germans as a joke, not conceiving that a full-grown and educated man would quietly and soberly speak of war as being desirable. "Well, but if we squeeze him from both sides," he answered, smiling, giving one pleasantry for another, "he will be fixed too fast to move. We shall have to let him out somewhere." I translated this answer to my guest. "Tell him we love the Russians," he said. These words astonished Prokophy even more than the proposal to squeeze the Germans, and awoke in him a certain feeling of suspicion. "Whence does he come?" he enquired. I replied that he was a wealthy Frenchman. "And what business has brought him here?" he asked. When I replied that the Frenchman had come in the hope of persuading the Russians to enter into an alliance with the French in the event of war with Germany, Prokophy was clearly entirely displeased, and, turning to the women who were sitting close by on a cock of hay, called out to them, in an angry voice, which unwittingly displayed the feelings which had been aroused in him, to go and stack the rest of the hay. "Well, you crows," he cried, "you are all asleep! Go and stack! A nice time for squeezing the Germans! Look there, the hay has not been turned yet, and it looks as if we might have to begin the corn on Wednesday." And then, as if afraid of having offended our visitor, he added, smiling good naturedly and showing his worn teeth, "Better come and work with us and bring the Germans too. And when we have finished we will have some feasting, and make the Germans join us. They are men like ourselves." And so saying, Prokophy took his hands from the fork or rake on which he had been leaning, lifted it on to his shoulder, and went off after the women. "Oh, the dear fellow!" exclaimed the polite Frenchman, laughing, and thus was concluded for the time his diplomatic mission to the Russian people. The different aspects of these two men—one shining with freshness and high spirits, dressed in a coat of the latest cut, displaying with his white hands, which had never known labour, how the Germans should be squeezed; the other, coarse, with hay dust in his hair, shrunken with hard work, sunburnt, always weary, and, notwithstanding his severe complaint, always at work: Prokophy, with his fingers swollen with toil, in his large home-made trousers, worn out shoes, and a great heap of hay upon his shoulders, moving along with that careful economy of stride, common to all working men; the different aspects of these two men, made much clear to me at the time, which has come back to me vividly since the Toulon-Paris festivities. One of them represented the class fed and maintained by the people's labour, who in return

use up that people as "food for powder," while the other was that very "food for powder" which feeds and maintains those who afterwards so dispose of it.—Tolstoy's *Patriotism and Christianity*, pages 24, 25, 26, 27.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

Bloody American Capitalism: Its Murder of Labour. By Joe Walker. S.L.P. 6d.

This is a reprint of articles which appeared in the "Cotton Factory Times." It is here observed that in the last fifty years capitalist America made 40,000 millionaires, and sent 1,000,000 boys and girls to work under twelve years of age; that there are 5,000 landlords and 80,000,000 trespassers, and that 4 per cent. of the population owns 99 per cent. of the national wealth. In 1916-17, the Steel Trust made 20,000,000 dollars more in profit than its total capital stock which is watered. One year's revenue of the Steel Trust is more than that of the State revenues in Portugal, Switzerland and Greece together, and is as much as that of the Empire of Japan. Seven men hold 75 per cent. of the U.S. railway mileage, and control 85 per cent. of the profits therefrom.

J. Ogden Armour, of the meat trust, has one pleasure house costing £400,000, and his household expenses are £40,000 a year.

An editorial in the "New York World" is quoted stating that 100,000,000 to 200,000,000 bushels of wheat must be destroyed "to get it off the American market." The "World" observes that if it were sold abroad it would "hang over the home market just the same in either case." Therefore it must be destroyed, it is said, yet millions are starving for lack of bread. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other gunmen are described in this pamphlet, and such incidents as the bombing of Virginia miners, the Herrin Labour War, are described.

WHAT WE STAND FOR.

The abolition of the capitalist or private property system.

Common ownership of the land, the means of production and distribution. The earth, the seas and their riches, the industrial plant, the railways and ships, aircraft, and so on, shall belong to the whole people.

Production for use, not for profit. Under modern conditions more can be produced than can be consumed of all necessities, if production is not artificially checked. The community must set itself to provide all the requirements of its members, in order that their wants may be met without stint and according to their own measure and desire. The people will notify their requirements, and the district, the country, the world must co-operate to supply them.

Production for use means that there will be neither barter nor sale, and consequently no money. An immense amount of labour in buying, selling and advertising will therefore be saved.

Since there will be plenty for all, there will be no insurance, no poor and no poor law, no State or private charity of any kind. Humiliation, officialdom and useless toil, which means putting parasites on the backs of the producers, will be obviated thereby.

There will be no class distinctions because there will be no economic distinctions. Everyone will be a worker, everyone will be of the educated classes, for education will be free to all, and since the hours of labour and relatively monotonous tasks will be short, everyone will be able to make use of educational facilities, not merely in early youth, but throughout life.

There will be no patents, no "trade secrets," scientific knowledge will be widely diffused. Since the class war will be no more, the newspapers will be largely filled with scientific information, art and literature, historical research.

Society will be organised to supply its own needs. To-day the essential needs of the

people are supplied by private enterprise. Ostensibly we are under a democratic Government, but the most outstanding fact in the average man's life is that he is largely at the disposal of his employer. The government of the workshop where he spends the greater part of his time and energy is despotic. Under Communism industry will be managed by those at work in it. The workshop will contain, not employees, subject to the dictation of the employers and their managers, but groups of co-workers.

We stand for the workshop councils in industry, agriculture and all the services of the community. We stand for the autonomous organisation of the workshops and their ordered co-ordination, in order that the needs of all may be supplied.

Under Communism Parliament and the local governing bodies will disappear. Parliament, with the monarch, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the Houses of Lords and Commons, provides no true democracy. "Self-government is better than good government," and the only genuine self-government is literally self-government, in which free individuals willingly associate themselves in a common effort for the common good. On the basis of co-workers in the workshop co-operating with co-workers in other workshops, efficiency of production and distribution, which means plenty for all, can go hand in hand with personal freedom.

Elected on a territorial basis, Parliament is not able to manage efficiently the industries and services of the community. The services at present controlled by it are managed by salaried permanent officials. The condition of the worker employed in such services is the same as in privately owned industry.

A centralised Government cannot give freedom to the individual: it stultifies initiative and progress. In the struggle to abolish capitalism the workshop councils are essential. The trade unions are not based on the workshop, and are bureaucratically governed. Therefore they are not able efficiently to manage the industries. Not being able efficiently to manage the industries they are ineffective implements in the effort to take industry from the management of the employers and vest it in the workers at the point of production.

Therefore we stand for—
The abolition of the private property system,
Production for use, not profit,
The free supply of the people's needs,
The organisation of production and distribution on a workshop basis.

RED MAY DAY.

Instituted 9th February, 1924.

Objective.—The celebration of May-Day on the first day of May, with the demand of Bread for All.

Fellow-workers,—We invite every member of the working class to join with us on Thursday, the first day of May next, and march to Glasgow Green from their respective districts with the Red May-Day Marchers. To those members of the working class who are sufficiently conscious of their position in the bourgeois State we invite to join our organisation as members. Our demand shall be—

Bread for All.

By "Bread for All" we mean a free and equal share of all the material things in life. Everything you see in the world, fellow-workers, is produced by your class, but we, being a slave class, are compelled to accept from our masters what small mercies they give unto us.

"Bread for All" then is the demand of the Revolutionary worker, with no reservations. Everyone must get bread. Why do they not get it to-day? They don't get it because the few own and control the "means of life." It is not because there is not plenty; the store-houses are full. Take a look at any of the many shops in Glasgow to-day. They are stocked to overflowing. There are plenty of boots and to spare, there are plenty of clothes

and every description of wearing apparel. Take a walk along Sauchiehall Street. You will be amazed at the wealth of commodities displayed. In Glasgow to-day there are more clothes than would clothe every man, woman, and child, and possibly you have none, fellow-worker. Why? You have none because you are a slave and you have no master. A terrible fate to starve amidst plenty, to go in garments that are past decency, and the shops are full.

Why are you a slave, fellow-worker? You are one because you are the son of a slave. The entire working class of Glasgow are slaves, and also Britain. Many don't know it, in fact the mass does not, that's why they submit to starvation. Do you know, fellow-worker, that man is the only animal in the world that starves amidst plenty. They dope you and tell you "that it can't be helped." They tell you that because you are a slave, and slaves like you believe them. But you need not starve. You need not want food and clothing and shelter if you would waken up and ask for it, or, better still, demand it. But then you are a slave, born of slave parents, and you are afraid to demand it. "Bread for All" is not much to ask; it is your birthright. Why would you not demand bread? Ask yourself that question, and the answer will come back to you—"Fear keeps me back." Ask yourself why should you have fear, and then you will find out you are a slave. Then the scales may fall from your eyes. "A slave! Am I a slave?" and as you think the answer will become plain, and it will be—"I am a slave; I was born a slave; I live like a slave, and so does all my family, and so did my father and mother before me; a slave I am!" A slave that cannot get bread. Terrible, oh how terrible it will become to you to know the naked truth. A slave in the great British Empire. Yes, and there are millions of them that don't know it.

Your duty then is plain, fellow slave. Join up with us and help to carry the message to the slaves. Bread for all, bread for all, bread for all the slaves is our first call. Bread without distinction, class, creed, or colour. Bread for all, and at the call many slaves will awaken.

Red May-Day March.

All Districts shall assemble on Thursday, 1st May, 1924, at 11 o'clock prompt and march to Glasgow Green, each being led by the Proletarian School Children with banner on lorry. [All shall assemble round the central platform at 12 noon prompt. The resolution shall be "Bread for All," and the three songs of Red May-Day shall be sung. The songs are:—(1) "The Red May Song"; (2) "A Rebel Song"; (3) "The International,"

Districts.

- 1.—Parkhead and District shall meet at Burgher Street, Parkhead Cross.
 - 2.—Bridgeton and District shall meet at Orr Street, Bridgeton Cross.
 - 3.—South-Side and District shall meet at Cleland Street, at Crown Street.
 - 4.—Townhead and District shall meet at Cathedral Square.
 - 5.—Central and District shall meet at 48, Renfrew Street.
 - 6.—Anderston and District shall meet at Clyde Street, Anderston Cross.
 - 7.—Kinning Park and District shall meet at Pollok Street.
- Outlying Districts shall form up with the one nearest them.
- 8.—Rutherglen and District.
 - 9.—Cambuslang and District.
 - 10.—Hamilton and District.
 - 11.—Clydebank and District.

Social Side of May-Day.

Children's Social, 1 till 5.30 p.m. Tickets, 6d. and 1/-.
Grown-Ups' Concert, 6.45 to 9.30 p.m. Silver Collection.
Young People's "Red May-Day" Carnival Dance. Subscription Programme.
All the above will be held in St. Mungo Halls. :: ::
(Continued on page 8).

General Meetings.

Statutory General Meetings of all members will be held on the third Saturday of February, March, April, and May of each year at 3.30 in the St. Mungo Halls.

Propaganda Meetings.

An Open-air Meeting shall be held on the first Sunday of each month during the year on Glasgow Green at 12 noon. Look for the Flag.

Yours fraternally,

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

39, Shuttle Street, Glasgow,
March, 1924.

English and Welsh comrades please copy.

**WHERE TO GET THE
"DREADNOUGHT."**

The following newsagents now stock the "Dreadnought":—

East Greenwich.—Johannes, 11, Blackwall Lane.

Lewisham.—"Bob's," Lewis Grove.

Bellingham.—Stephens, Station Approach.

Readers are urged to encourage these newsagents by their support.

A LITERATURE PITCH.

Comrade Mrs. Ironside is organising a literature selling pitch in Oxford Street. Comrades willing to assist are asked to communicate with the "Dreadnought" office in order that we may forward their names to her.

COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT.

(Anti-Parliamentary.)

For particulars of membership apply Secretary, 162, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Meetings.

Sundays, 3 p.m., Hyde Park. N. Smyth and others.

CLERICAL WORK.

Volunteers are needed for Clerical and Organising work. Comrades should write to the "Dreadnought" office.

**COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT,
WILLESDEN.**

A group of the C.W.M. has been formed in Willesden. Mr. A. Parsons, 182, Chapter Road, Willesden, is acting as Secretary pro tem. Intending members should communicate with him.

**IRISH WORKER LEAGUE, LONDON
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